

IMMIGRATION,

—COMPILED BY—

George D. Free, A. M.,

WHEATLEY, ARKANSAS,

Author of "A Popular Geography," "Marriage and Divorce,"

"History and Civil Government," and

"Citizens' Manual."



1891.

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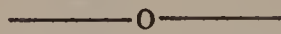


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PREFACE.



Long years ago our ancestors came from Europe and found this a barren country, but by indomitable will and herculean energy it has been transformed into a land "where fruits and flowers in rich luxuriance grow, and where majors and colonels and sweet politicians bloom and blossom like the rose forever more." What a glorious land!

It seems somewhat hard to deny the oppressed a home with us, but it should be done readily when they absolutely refuse to conform to the requisitions and rules which have been established for our mutual protection, welfare and happiness.

These articles have been compiled from Public Opinion, Washington, D. C., and all the thought that pervades them comes from praiseworthy motives, actuated by the interests the writers have in this Republic. All honor to that old flag that guarantees freedom and protection to us; may it long float over the government, and the "home of the free and the land of the brave."

GEORGE D. FREE.

Wheatley, Ark.,

Nov. 20, 1891.

ALIENS AND AMERICANS.

The Chicago News.

Every man or woman, whether born in the United States or whether born and raised abroad, who has assumed personally, or through husband, father, or other head of the family, the duties of American citizenship, or has promised to assume them, renouncing at the same time all allegiance to any government or form of government except that of the United States, is an American, and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of Americans and American society as long as he or she upholds American institutions and makes every possible effort to get rid of any previous condition hostile to the principle of self-government. The American may by birth be a foreigner, but he is an American when he owes no longer allegiance to any authority except the United States and adapts himself to the requirements of the American nation. An alien, from the standpoint of American law and society, is a person who owes allegiance to some government other than that of the United States, and who has no disposition or power to free himself from such foreign or alien allegiance, nor to incorporate himself into the American nation. It is not birth or language or complexion, which constitutes a person an alien as distinguished from an American, but the attitude of such person toward the government and the people of the United States. The latter obliges no one to remain an alien, unless satisfied that the race from which the alien springs offers an insurmountable obstacle to his becoming a good American. On the contrary, the United States is extremely liberal in making Americans out of aliens. It is perfectly proper for American law and society to make a distinction between aliens and Americans in all matters affecting the welfare of the community and its members. We do not withhold hospitality or

general protection from any alien. He is not denied standing in our courts, nor is he subject to any burdens which are not shared by all Americans. But we do not grant him equality with Americans in economic or political matters. We do not permit him to hold real estate, because that would make our soil indirectly subject to the control of foreign powers, and we do not permit his employment on public works or in any way where he would become a charge upon the public treasury, because he owes allegiance to a foreign power and supports institutions foreign to our own. If an alien complains of this treatment he can easily remedy the matter. Let him renounce his allegiance to all authority other than that of the United States. Let him assume his own individuality and satisfy Americans that he is not prevented by any tie that binds him from entering into full equality with Americans. Gangs of men contracted by some boss who hires them out as so many cattle are not composed of men fit to be Americans, because they are controlled by another than the Government of the United States, and only by turning their backs upon their masters can they cease to be aliens. An alien can honestly swear to his intention to become an American citizen only when he severs all ties which restrict his power of self-government. Let every American citizen, particularly the workingmen and the officers charged with the duty of receiving aliens into the fellowship of Americans, bear in mind these distinctions between an American and an alien, and the mischief-making demagogue will soon find his occupation gone.

IMMIGRATION.

Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette.

There is no class of our population more intimately concerned in just laws for restricting immigration than the workingmen. The McKinley law has protected them from the productions of the pauper labor of Europe, but now our laborers find themselves in need of protection from the inroads of the paupers. Some meetings of labor organizations recently held in Washington give promise of good results. Represent-

atives of several Federations of Labor and officers of the Farmers' Alliance met and discussed the question of the inroads of those classes of alien laborers that have recently attracted the attention of the country to them by their disorders. It was agreed that it had become a vital question of self-preservation to call for more stringent laws against undesirable immigration. There was a declared intention to attempt to induce all farmers' and labor organizations to unite in demanding appropriate legislation from Congress. Such requests will come with recognized propriety from this class. More than that, they will, under present circumstances and conditions, carry greater weight than from almost any other element of our population. These alien laborers as a class are little, if any, better than the slaves of contractors, steamship lines, and the professional European jobbers in pauper labor. The large proportion of those engaged in our mines and on public works have been secured through these sources, either in direct defiance of our laws or by the evasion of the laws. They come in direct competition with the native born and the worthy foreign immigrant who comes here for the purpose of applying for citizenship and securing a home. They not only come into competition with every worthy class of laborers, but they are for the most part too ignorant to comprehend American institutions, and have no broader idea of liberty than to insist that it includes license. They are non-respectors of law, and upon the slightest provocation they become breakers of the law. At every point of contact with our labor system they debase it. There is no common ground of interest between them and worthy workingmen. The latter continually suffer because of the disorders and the general debasement of these undesirable aliens. If the labor organizations of the land, in their varied and countless associations, will act together in this matter they will be able to create an influence which politicians of both parties will speedily heed. If to this be added the influential support, which now seems assured, of a large body of foreign-born Americans, who are actuated by the correct theory that their standing as a class is lowered by the various forms of debased immigration, there can be no doubt that the next Con-

gress will give the country just and effective laws for national protection from undesirable immigration.

The San Francisco Alta.

It is time that the people of this country began to consider the changed motives of the majority of foreign immigrants. Time was when they came because of an intelligent devotion to free government. Ninety-nine per cent. of them were free from the merely material motive. They were not urged by starvation, they did not come in the squalid steerage, they did not, on landing, feel compelled to invent servile occupations before unknown in this country merely to get the crusts and scraps that would keep them alive. Their motive was intellectual more than material. Their descendants are found in every state of good report, foremost amongst the fibres that make up the American character. Their blood may have been in the beginning English, Irish, Scotch, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Scandinavian, or Slav. No matter, they are now Americans, because the expatriation of their ancestors was real and not unreal. Its motive was ethical and not material. At present ninety-nine per cent. of all immigrants come for material reasons only. Their decision to migrate to the United States is not for lack of liberty but for lack of bread. The purpose is animal entirely. Every old immigrant from any country in Europe knows this to be so. The Italian who genuinely expatriated himself, who believed in Joseph Mazzini and sought liberty for its own sake, finds no fraternity in the Italian immigration that has poured upon us since the suppression of the murder guilds of Sicily and the decline of the industry of assassination in that country. The pauper population that is practically transported to this country from other nations in Europe, to reach the ballot-box here as soon as possible, is not the sort of material that is desirable in a republic. It is not like the foreign immigration which strengthened us of old. Recent events have given abundant proof that five years is too short a time in which to make this new immigration American. It does not lose its feeling of foreign nationality in that time. Its sense of alle-

giance to the flag under which it was born is not diluted at all by its oath of naturalization. Its expatriation is unreal. Its American citizenship is not skin deep. The ballot in its hands is not for conscientious use in the interest of our institutions. It is time that we began a more discriminating policy in regard to immigration, and if men who have taken the oath of citizenship after a five years' novitiate, meet by thousands and appeal to the flag under which they were born against the flag they have sworn to support, let us not evaporate the useful suggestion of their conduct by abusing them for it. It is our fault and not theirs. If we have a national policy so loose and public men so cowardly that we permit immigration to lose its original and proper motive, and degenerate into the founding of colonies here derived from every nation in Europe, each ready to hail its "home government" for help against every other, it is our fault and not that of the aliens who take advantage of it. We have recently published Labor Commissioner Wright's conclusions from the last census that there are every year 460,000 places in this country to be filled by men, women and children in its productive industries, and that every year there are 500,000 applicants for these places added to the population, so that every year 40,000 who need employment can't get it. This means that if we continue to admit the merely bread-seeking immigration from Europe, we are easing the cares of every foreign government while we increase our own. Let it not be said that the remedy is a refusal to admit immigrants, for that is a national policy repugnant to humanity. But let us rather insist that our Temple of Liberty is not the world's almshouse. Let us so change our immigration laws as to make us no longer a mere convenience, a mixture of poorhouse, hospital, and penal colony for Europe. We have it in our own hands to restore foreign immigration entirely to its original character, in behalf of which our liberal laws of naturalization were enacted. Such a policy will have the cordial support of every intelligent alien-born citizen, and if any alien living here, with the oath of allegiance on his lips, objects, it is evidence at once of the unreality of his expatriation. He is merely a cutaneous American, while at heart a foreigner. We by

no means say that it is a condition of American citizenship that a man must forget the land of his birth, for then he would be an unnatural man, but he must prefer the interests of this country to those of any other. If he fail in this his oath is mere air. Recent events bearing on the reality and unreality of expatriation have called attention to this issue, and have accomplished much in making Americans, North and South, feel the tension of a common bond.

The Chicago News.

In a recent Boston sermon the Rev. Dr. Phillips Brooks took advanced ground on the restriction of American immigration. According to this divine, "if the world in the great march of the centuries is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character built up by a larger type of manhood here, then, for the world's sake, for the sake of those very nations that would pour in upon it that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it." This utterance will attract attention not so much because its dominant idea is original, but because it is timely. The development of a high form of civilization in America is not solely for the benefit of Americans. It is a trust for the benefit of humanity. All enlightened Americans will agree with this postulate. Being the repository, to use Dr. Brooks' language again, "of all that is rich in all the centuries, of all that is precious in all the lands," it will be admitted that the working out of the destiny of the American Republic carries with it a responsibility that should be the special concern of American patriots. It is far from being a selfish motive that actuates those American statesmen and thinkers who are to-day striving for the purification of the stream of immigration to these shores. Primarily the rights of American citizens will be preserved by limiting immigration to those who will make good citizens, and excluding the undesirable element from pauperized sections of the old world. But there is a higher motive that will be recognized by the world at large, and which will do honor to this nation when it is fully understood. Upon this continent it is agreed that the problem of modern civilization is to be worked out

for the benefit of the oppressed of all nations. As the trustee for humanity the American Republic is not merely privileged, but is in duty bound, to resist the pollution of American citizenship by a wise, humane, and discriminating exclusion of the vicious, the criminal and the pauper.

The Indianapolis News,

It is apparent that the Italian episode has thoroughly aroused the country on the subject of immigration. The pulpit as well as the press has taken up the theme. It will be surprising if the next Congress does not go farther with legislation in this particular than ever. There is hardly a State in the Union that does not need a reformation of its laws concerning suffrage. Naturalization is a Federal right, and is conferred by the Union. The conditions going to make it up are hardly strict enough, while certainly the immigration laws or their enforcement are not. The right to vote is a State right, conferred by the State each for itself, and the regulations thereof are disgracefully lax. In our own State of Indiana for example, we allow a man who is not a citizen of the United States—has not yet been naturalized—to vote and hold office. To be naturalized, an alien must declare his intention at least two years previous, and must have lived in the country five years—one year in the State or Territory where the court that naturalizes him is holden. But in Indiana an alien who has been one year in the country, six months of it in the State, may vote. In nearly one-half of the States is the condition similar. In the other half the conditions of naturalization which compel five years' residence, i. e., United States citizenship, must be fulfilled before the right to vote is accorded. Minnesota is worse than Indiana. There an alien who has been four months in the State and declared his intention to become a citizen may vote. There should be no State in which an alien can vote. No one who is not a citizen of the country should be allowed to have a hand in shaping its institutions, and we think that one of the qualifications required in Massachusetts should be universal—to wit: the ability to read the constitution in the English language. No man is a desirable citizen who does not understand the

language of the country—who has not read its constitution and who has not by five years of residence proved his character. Since the New Orleans episode we are getting to have a somewhat more vivid idea of what Italian immigration means. Think of thousands of those people a week disembarked at Castle Garden, who next fall can turn the scales of an election in Indiana and many other States—people ignorant of the language of the country, ignorant of the meaning of its institutions, without a spark of loyalty for it, as the utterances of Italians on the New Orleans killing without exception showed. We need much more strictly guarded immigration laws, and in every State laws for suffrage which will exclude aliens. How can we expect ignorant foreigners to cherish a thing which we hold so highly?

The New York Recorder.

For immigrants of the kind that built up the country there is still abundant room in the United States. But for importations of the sort that are now overcrowding our ports we have no place whatever. We welcome good material for American citizens and founders of American families destined to prosper by the honest and intelligent application of their energies to the development of our land. We repel the invasion of the vicious, the ignorant and paupers inveterate through shiftlessness, who cross the ocean only to gain enough to return to live with less hardship in their accustomed squalor in the countries that are their homes. We invite honest and worthy settlers, but we have no greeting for lawless adventurers. We want no additions to our population from those whom their own nations will not keep. The policy of this country is settled against the admission of foreign contract labor. The reason for our system of exclusion of those hired abroad to work here is self protection. Justice to American free industry requires that it should be guarded against competition which is enslaved or degrading. The governing principle is that of direct protection to American industry. We insist that the control of our labor and the profit from it must be American and for Americans. So we prevent the importation of workmen in bands, under contracts made

abroad, binding them to work for a term at wages that would depreciate the standard compensation of American workmen. But does any one believe that the droves of passengers that are daily unloaded from the ships in our harbor, squalid, ignorant and penniless, are really enterprising settlers coming here on their own account to carve out fortunes for themselves and their children as American citizens, from the treasures of our mines or the richness of our soil? They are not free and independent immigrants, but only contract laborers in disguise, banded and bonded to foreign slave drivers, if not under the forms of law, yet more securely held by the ties of secret criminal association. What have such men, who do not attempt the slightest exertion of individual independence, in common with the pioneers who transformed the country from a wilderness into a garden? For the sake of genuine and productive immigration, no less than for our native industry, we must shut the floodgates against the influx of the debased, who come to us and go away again in herds and leave their mark upon our national life only in the bloody stains of bludgeon and stiletto. "America for Americans" in the broad sense to include the fitness and fixed intentions to be Americans, must be our rule to test immigration by. We must apply the rigid standard of our contract labor laws to alleged unbired newcomers. We must accept only those worthy to be our fellow workmen and fellow citizens. All others must be excluded as aliens naturally inimical to American welfare. The restriction of immigration should be one of the first subjects to receive attention by the new Congress. Meanwhile existing statutes should be enforced rigidly, with constant and suspicious scrutiny to detect evasions of the substance of the law under cover of compliance with legal forms.

The Chicago Times.

Never till recently has it been deemed possible that men should be denied shelter of this country because of their poverty or distress. For years this distress was looked upon as an indication that the incoming hordes would be less liable to learn the evil habits of older settlers and strike against their

employers because of dissatisfaction with their wages. While an increasing tariff wall was shutting out the products of foreign labor, capital was scouring Europe to secure additional immigrants for protected workshops. Capitalists had this right; their victims had the right to come if they desired. But it is now argued that the country needs no more, and that, therefore, the doors must be closed. But even those who propose this as one remedy are aware of the fact that persons high in authority have used the power to debase the citizenship of the new arrivals. They have bid for the votes of an ignorant class, and have never complained except when a higher bidder has cheated them of their expectations. It becomes this people rather to seek for the causes which have overturned an established law and made it seemingly necessary for us to relinquish a principle for which war was waged. While a single State has room enough for more than twice the population of the country it will not be logical to surrender a fundamental principle without first determining whether the same cause making this necessary will not soon lead to further surrender of what has been held to be a sacred right.

Henry Cabot Lodge in the *North American Review*.

Surely the time has come for an intelligent and effective restriction of immigration. No one wishes to exclude a desirable immigrant who seeks in good faith to become a citizen of the United States; but it certainly is madness to permit this stream to pour in without discrimination or selection, or the exclusion of dangerous and undesirable elements. There are great States in the West and Southwest naturally anxious to have their lands occupied and their population increased, but there is something more important than rapidity of settlement or the quick development of wealth. These advantages will be dearly bought if we pay for them a price which involves the lowering of the standard of American citizenship. More important to a country than wealth and population is the quality of its people. Far more valuable than sudden wealth is the maintenance of good wages among American workingmen and the exclusion of an unlimited supply

of low-class labor with which they cannot compete. In the present state of things, not only are we doing nothing to protect the quality of our citizenship or the wages of our workmen from an unrestricted flood of immigration, but we are permitting persons so ignorant and criminal to come among us that organizations like the Mafia are sure to rise in our midst. The time has come for an intelligent restriction. Mr. Dingley advises—what every person who has looked carefully into the subject suggests—consular inspection in the country of departure. To this, I think, should be added some such fair and restrictive test as that of ability to read and write. What is needed now most of all, however, is an intelligent and active public opinion to which Congress will respond. If we do not act, and act intelligently, we must be prepared for just such events as that at New Orleans, not merely bringing in their train murder and sudden death, but breeding race antagonisms and national hostilities which never existed before, and which need never have an existence if we deal properly with this momentous problem.

Albany Journal.

A treasury document with an important bearing on the immigration problem, which is now being discussed throughout the country to a far greater extent than the average person realizes, gives the statistics of newcomers to the United States since 1820, the year in which the official record was begun. The grand total is 15,639,678 men, women and children, divided into nationalities as follows:

Germany.....	4,551,719	France.....	370,162
Ireland.....	3,501,683	Russia and Poland.....	356,353
England.....	2,460,034	Scotland.....	329,192
British North America....	1,029,083	China.....	292,578
Norway and Sweden.....	943,330	Switzerland.....	174,333
Austria and Hungary.....	464,455	Denmark.....	146,237
Italy.....	414,513	All others.....	606,006

More than one-third of that enormous impour, or 5,246,613 persons, came over during the past decade; and of these 2,483,904 are recorded as having no trade or occupation. This features of the figures has been given unusual import-

ance, as indicating the unfitness of fully half the newcomers of the past 10 years to earn their living after reaching this country. Such a deduction however, lacks force when it is considered that women and children form a large percentage of the new-comers. Undoubtedly a considerable percentage contributed to the pauperism and crime which fill our penal and charitable institutions and are a direct burden on the people of almost every community in the land.

The Denver News.

Within the past two or three years a strong sentiment has been developed in the United States looking to the restriction of immigration, and the disclosures of a Congressional committee, which made a pretty thorough investigation into the subject, were not calculated to allay distrust in a policy which was shown to operate so unjustly against American mechanics and laborers, and more especially against working women and girls in the Atlantic States. The subject is treated by a writer in the August Arena, who views it mainly from the standpoint of the effect of immigration upon the quality of the people who are to control the destinies of our Republic. His conclusions are not encouraging, but the topic has a present and practical bearing, not to be long evaded, and withal is suggestive. Among rational citizens of this Nation, who have an appreciative loyalty for American institutions, there can be only one opinion as to the necessity and justice of excluding from our shores such immigration as would only prove a burden and a curse—as would only compel an ever-increasing capacity in our prisons, poor-houses, and insane asylums, nor can there be any question as to the propriety of preventing the transportation of laborers under contract from Europe to America, for that is only another way of pauperizing the country. Past neglect in respect to these matters has fastened a stigma of excessive crime upon the United States which is not ours of right, nor chargeable to our institutions, but which is due to the imposition put upon us by foreign nations, which have made this free country a sewerage for their moral and physical scum. The same neglect has reduced American women in Eastern

shops and factories to the brink of destitution, and has substituted for American labor in the mines of Pennsylvania a class of ignorant foreigners who are willing to work at starvation wages, because in their dreary past they have never become acquainted with any better condition. When our immigration laws shall be made effective in protecting the country and its labor from the criminal dregs and pauperism of Europe the limit of practical restriction will probably have been reached. It is doubtful whether public opinion, at least in this generation, will sustain any farther advance in that direction. It would be difficult in this cosmopolitan age to reasonably object to the landing of immigrants who, on their own motion and desire, come to us with health and habits of industry and means to keep them from want until they can find work to do. The United States owes too much to immigrants of that type to justify the raising of a barrier against them now. As to the influence of the foreign element upon the moral quality of our population—referred to by the *Arena* writer—that is a living question at present, without reference to future arrivals across the sea. New York and Chicago, with their 80 and 90 per cent. of foreign population, and several other cities with percentages not so formidable, are facing that problem to-day. With restrictions of the nature indicated in force, remedies against evils attaching to the foreign element here and to come must consist in measures for the assimilation of that class. The objective point should be to overcome the dense ignorance, prejudice, and superstition—the heritage of centuries—which subject masses of people to improper and sometimes dangerous control. Practical education, moral as well as secular, will alone meet the case, and the State is the reliance for giving it. Intellectual freedom must be an individual possession in the United States. Mental serfdom, in the absence of enforced education, might easily assume proportions that would involve danger to the Republic as real as ever attached to African slavery. The fathers builded wisely when, more than a century ago, they laid a foundation of land grants for the perpetuation of the American school system. That system has wrought marvels in promoting homogeneity in the past

and it is the sure reliance for the dangers feared by the writer in the Arena. It has elevated European immigrants and their descendants in a degree that would have been hopeless under foreign conditions, and, besides equipping them for a higher plane of life, socially and financially, has imbued them with a type of patriotism that is nowhere excelled. On nothing does the welfare of the Nation depend more than on an inviolable preservation of our public school system and the extension of its benefits as far as possible, especially to the children of those foreigners who are massing in our large cities. Its ennobling influence on the foreigners of late and future immigration is a certain index of its assimilating and Americanizing power.

The Macon Telegraph.

Gen. Francis A. Walker, perhaps the country's most distinguished statistician, made a speech before the American Economic Association recently, in which he discussed the immigration problem—for it is beginning to be realized that there is such a problem. General Walker showed that he is somewhat alarmed as to the effects of the immense influx of foreigners, when the country's need of new people is far less than it was a few years ago. He showed that while the number of immigrants in the ten-year period ending with 1880 was only 2,500,000, it increased during the next ten years to 5,000,000. In the next ten years 10,000,000 may come, as the desire to emigrate, in the hope of bettering their condition, is constantly growing among the poorer classes of Europe, and the cost of traveling is becoming less every year. General Walker holds that our first duty is to ourselves, and that we should not give over our great heritage to strangers, who are rushing in to take possession of it. Not only are the new-comers depriving the next generation of Americans of opportunities which they will need, but they are by this presence endangering the integrity of our institutions. The bulk of the immigrants are no longer drawn from the northern countries of Europe and from a stock close akin to our own, but from the southern portions of that continent, from races widely different and used to very different institutions.

General Walker's is not the first voice raised in warning against unrestricted immigration. He merely emphasizes what has been said before by other men. The passage of the contract labor law some years ago was mainly due to the pressure brought to bear by labor organizations on Congress, but it nevertheless met the approval, in spite of absurdity in some of its features, of thousands of citizens not directly interested in the admission or exclusion of foreign laborers. These felt that the time had come when unrestricted immigration was a source of danger to the Republic. General Walker will, therefore, find a very considerable support in public opinion for the views he has expressed. It is true that there are sections of the country much in need of immigrants. The South would welcome millions, and be safer and richer because of their presence. But the South does not need or desire an influx of hundreds of thousands of Italian, Hungarian, and Russian peasants, poverty stricken and grossly ignorant. She wants immigrants from the North, who are Americans already, with the knowledge of American institutions that will make them good citizens in a country where want of that knowledge would make them dangerous. This is not a section where we can afford to risk experiments in politics or add indefinitely to the mass of ignorance.

The Christian at Work.

Dr. Hamilton tells us that it is the settled policy of foreign governments to encourage immigration to their own colonies, and that no government in Europe encourages immigration to the United States. But England does encourage the immigration of the poorer classes, and she sent us last year 66,000 while, despite the efforts of Germany to retain all her able-bodied men, that they may carry the musket in the coming war, nearly 100,000 (99,538) came to these shores last year. And the Italians, too, are coming over in crowds, and at the present rate of increase will soon, in point of numbers, stand next to the Irish. A noted feature of this immigration is the fact that while only 3,360 men skilled in the professions, and 59,985 skilled laborers came into the country last year, the number of common laborers and "miscellaneous"

was over a quarter of a million (239,644). The effect of such an incursion of foreign hordes upon our shores can better be imagined than described. And let us say, so rapidly is the country developing, and so thickly is the public domain being settled, and so great is the number of foreign unskilled laborers already in the country, that we believe it would be a great gain if not another one of this class came to this country during the rest of the century. That this is so becomes strikingly apparent when the fact is recalled that the average immigration for the last eight years is 57 per cent. larger than the average immigration for the eight years next preceding, while 50 per cent. of this increase is of persons without any occupation or training, and the tendency is for the least desirable kinds of immigration to increase much more rapidly than that which is valuable. To remedy this evil Dr. Hammond recommends requiring a consular certificate as a condition precedent to immigration. This plan, which is not new, has just been embodied in a bill which goes further than measures previously introduced, in making the certificate more thorough and definite, and especially in the provision shutting out illiterate persons as well as those who are physically or mentally unsound and liable to become a public charge. The bill has unquestionably merit, but we greatly doubt if our consuls would prove adequate to the task of inspecting and certifying to the condition of the half million immigrants that the Old World empties upon the New every year. And it certainly is true that consular certificates will avail little till our laws are made more restrictive and our immigration system is entirely recast. That the insane and idiotic should be sent to our shores is bad enough. But the economic is the lowest test to apply in this matter. It is certainly better that ten idiots come to this country to be locked up, even becoming a public charge, than that one finished scoundrel comes here to play his pranks throughout the country. It is further to be hoped Congress will at the earliest opportunity provide for a commission of intelligent men and experts having knowledge of the subject, who shall traverse existing laws, consider all available facts, elicit the views of thoughtful men, and revise our present immigrant

laws and prepare a measure which will lessen if not wholly repress existing abuses. Such a result, enacted into law, would give us a higher class of immigration, and, if it would not bring more dollars in the country would, what is far better, purify the social structure and elevate the now degraded standard of citizenship which, as Dr. Hammond says, is nowhere so cheap, as it should nowhere be so valuable, as in the United States.

The Philadelphia North American.

From this time forward our duty is well defined. It relates to two things that must be done. It would be an insult to the American people to assume that they will hesitate to perform that duty. First, the gates must be bolted against indiscriminate immigration. The demagogues will resist that, but the people must put the demagogues on the outside before they close the gates, if nothing else will do. Then the scum that has drifted to these shores must be put under strict surveillance and be made to understand that any departure from good behavior means certain punishment for such as have become citizens, and banishment without recourse to every alien criminal. Sweep the land, and sweep clean. If there be any organization of men coming from abroad, not wholly social and beneficiary, it must be outlawed, and if recalcitrant, let membership constitute such a crime as can be condignly punished. But in any case no alien criminal should be allowed to domicile here. Refuse them entrance; but should any avoid scrutiny and enter, turn their faces toward the land of their origin and issue marching orders. Let every nation care for its own rascals.

The Rochester Herald.

So long as foreign nations continue to send to this country not simply many of their worthy and acceptable people, but the scum and scouring of their jails, almshouses and lunatic asylums, we shall be likely to have more or less trouble like that in New Orleans and Morewood. The American government and people are not altogether blameless in this matter. A few years ago Congress passed a radical ex-

clusion act against the Chinese, and while there has been some grumbling over that measure among philanthropists and theorists, it is unquestionably generally acceptable to the masses of our people. The Chinese are neither needed nor wanted in this country. But they are much more acceptable, much less turbulent and obnoxious than large classes of immigrants that have been pouring into America from some portions of Europe during the past few years. The same policy of self-protection that led to the exclusion of the Chinese is equally applicable to the exclusion of these hordes of semi-barbarians that are immigrating to this country from some parts of Europe. Those that are here should not be made the victims of any cruel and bigoted proscriptive movement, but we should squarely face the fact that no more are needed, and steps should be taken that will effectually exclude those who may attempt hereafter to land on our shores.

The Kansas City Times.

In the formative and developing period of the republic, in the era of a growth whose marvels demanded brawn as well as brains, all immigration not drawn from the criminal classes was welcome and found ready amalgamation. There was work to be done and subsistence for all who could do it. A time of undue development has been followed by reaction. Expansion ceases until there are new demands upon the spirit of construction. The country is filled with tramps and idle men and thousands await work. Competition at home has steadily reduced the price of labor. To witness tamely, under such conditions, a continual influx of penniless, unteachable and grossly ignorant foreigners is unendurable to those who study social desirabilities and possess a patriotic regard for the higher interests of the whole country. That we possess an undeniable moral and legal right to close our doors against whomsoever we please is not a debatable matter. That the developments in Louisiana regarding the Mafia and such incidents as this latest outburst in Pennsylvania are sharp reminders of our duty to ourselves is equally certain. The Fifty-Second Congress will have to deal with

few questions of higher importance than the restriction of such immigration as brings us neither brains nor means nor capacity for assimilation with our institutions.

The St. Paul Pioneer Press.

It will be almost worth while for us to get into difficulties with a great European power if that shall spur up Congress to a sense of its duty in protecting the country against the invasion of the offscourings of the Old World's population. Why had we this trouble in New Orleans, out of which has grown our difference with Italy? Simply because we have held wide open the gates to the scoundrels who make up the Mafia, and seek to rule by the terror of the assassin's trade. Why had we the frightful outbreak of anarchism in Chicago? Because our great cities are crowded with those whose only education in the rights and duties of men is what they have learned in plotting against despotism, until the despot's agents made the country too hot to hold them. The ideas received in such an experience, and the deadly hatred conceived of every form of authority and every restraint on evil impulse, were the only capital they brought with them to America. Why have we today a struggle between capital and labor in Pennsylvania, which is being carried on by riot and murder and the destruction of property? Because the mines and coke furnaces are operated by imported labor, which knows no argument but that of brute force, and has learned no lesson but the possibility of violent resistance when its demands are denied. From the blow of the bludgeon to the wrecking of a great industrial plant, from the city mob to the possibility of an armed contest of nations, all has come from the insane and criminal policy of leaving immigration without regulation and without restraint.

It is not too late yet to remedy our grievous fault. It is too late to save ourselves from the disaster that has been wrought, or from the troubles of the future that we must face. But it is not too late to avert the graver consequences that must follow if all the scum of Europe is to be floated to our shores. The danger is an increasing one. The old quality of immigration has dwindled to small proportions. The

total immigration is greater than ever, but it is composed in large proportion of the outcast peoples of Europe, ready to indulge the worst passions of mankind, and to draw us ever deeper and deeper into domestic disturbances and foreign broils.

The Philadelphia Inquirer.

It must be apparent that something must be done. Can we discriminate wisely, or must the bars be put up? Can we trust to partial laws, or must we decline to receive any more Italians, Huns, and Poles? for it is from these people that much of our trouble arises and is likely to arise. Wherever an army of Italians, Huns or Poles is employed in place of intelligent laborers, there crime and debauchery can be looked for. We have just about reached the limit of our endurance. We want no more of these people. They have got to be kept out, or this great nation will inevitably sink to a condition where only pauper labor can find employment. And if mining and manufacturing companies persist in bringing ignorant and worthless and criminal laborers over here to wallow in the mire and degrade true labor, then the companies must be dealt with. One thing is certain, America, in some shape or other, has got to prevent the further influx of ignorant Italians and barbarous Huns and Poles. The law of self-preservation teaches this, and teaches it in terms that cannot be misunderstood. We must draw the line, and draw it firmly and sharply.

The Manchester (N. H.) Union.

There are two classes of so-called immigrants who are particularly and rightfully repugnant to the American people. One of these classes is composed of mechanics, artisans and laborers who are enterprising enough to take advantage of the difference in wages between America and European countries during the busy season. Every spring brings over thousands of this class, who pay their way, but come cheaply as steerage passengers, secure remunerative employment through the summer months, spend little beyond their actual living expenses, and return home to pass the winter in com-

parative leisure and enjoy their earnings. These men come in direct competition with the American workingman, share his wages, and even help to depreciate them, and escape most of the burdens which are placed upon the native mechanic and laborer in the name of protection. There is nothing to prevent their coming, and their numbers are increasing every year. But objectionable as this growing class is to American workingmen and American interests, it is every way desirable compared with the other, which consists of a type of tramps absolutely. This latter class does not have the merit of even representing skilled labor, as is the case of the English, Scotch and German stonecutters and metal workers. In speaking of them the Dingley report on the subject of immigration says: "What amazes is the size of the counter current. Sometimes as many as 1000 Italians came back from the United States to Naples in the month of December. When they have made a few dollars in the United States beyond the present wants they hasten to their old homes. They love to spend their savings in Italy; it seems to them almost a sacrilege to spend them elsewhere." These people are of the worst possible type. While they are in this country they are either vagabonds or practically serfs. They work in hordes under the charge of a master contractor. They spend next to nothing of their scanty earnings, and when the season is over they return to their haunts in the old world. Their annual voyage costs them less than they would spend if they stayed among us, and so they go and come, a filthy, reeking tide of humanity, with no purpose of becoming citizens, and with no other object than to acquire the scant means necessary to enable them to pass a season of idleness in their native land. They are tenfold more objectionable than contract laborers, but no effort is made to keep them out.

The Denver News.

The greatest of English historians, Thomas Babington Macaulay, in 1857, penned the following in regard to this subject

The day will come, when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, not one-half of whom has had more than half a breakfast or ex-

pect to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith; while on the other hand is a demagogue, ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne or ride in a carriage while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessities. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children crying for bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from ever returning. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand on your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman empire was in the fifth, with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country and by your own institutions.

These words are forcibly recalled by recent events. Shall the prophecies of Macaulay become true? This is the land of the free and the home of the brave. It is not an asylum for discontented foreigners—anarchists, revolutionary socialists, murderers and outcasts. America has a place and a cordial welcome for the brain and brawn and muscle of every honest man who seeks a home in this country, and who will rest content to become an American citizen with all it signifies. In coming to this country, however, our immigrants must become Americanized and adopt American ideas. Otherwise they cannot be Americans.

The Indianapolis Journal,

While it would be unjust to ignore the fact that thousands of intelligent Italians have come to this country, have become good citizens, and are as much attached to the institutions of the country as any other class, it is a fact that the bulk of the Italian immigration at the present time is anything but desirable. Nine-tenths of the present immigrants are males who have left their families behind them. Very few are accompanied by wives and children. That is, they do not come here like the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Irish and other nationalities, with families, to make homes, but intend to return to Italy when they shall have scraped together a little money. An equality in numbers between the

sexes and such variety in regard to age as makes a natural community does not necessarily insure social order, but it is essential to it. But the chief objection to a body of immigrants who are all able-bodied males is that they destroy the natural relation between production and consumption. They crowd the labor market, but the wages they earn are not expended for the other products of labor, as are those of men who have families to support. Consequently they can work cheaper than other men, and the same objection holds against them that is raised against the Chinese. The bulk of the Italian immigrants herd in large cities. They swarm together and remain apart from the rest of the population. In New York, Boston and other large cities there are Italian colonies, and when they begin to congregate in one locality all other people leave. When they go beyond the cities to work, they go in gangs, usually under the direction of some one of their nationality who is better informed. Some of them become voters because they find that value is attached to voting, but the mass of them do not regard themselves as citizens of the Republic or look upon this as their adopted country. Few of them have any ideas about government or the duties of the citizen. Ignorant, suspicious and violent, nearly all armed with deadly weapons, naturally hostile to lawful authority, living in squalor and in the midst of the most repulsive vices, they are at war with social order, and an incubus upon the progress and the elevation of the people, particularly of those who depend upon what is called unskilled labor for employment and livelihood. These are only a few of the reasons why the majority of Italians coming to this country are objectionable, but they are ample.

The Kansas City Times.

Americans call the Italians undesirable not because the "diplomatic incident" has aroused dislike, but because they are undesirable. Leaving out the good who do become worthy citizens of the Republic—and there are some—the present avalanche of immigration is the worst we have ever been compelled to receive. It threatens corruption in the large cities, where corruption is always a danger. Few

Italians go to the farms or the unsettled territory in the West. They stick to the towns, stick to each other, preserve their habits, seek the easiest occupations and take bribes for their votes when they can vote. Relatively very few come with the purpose of staying in the land of liberty. They do not understand or care for that boon of the Anglo-Saxon. If they have a feeling for the United States it is not one of affection. Nothing but expectation of money brings them. If by hoarding the money the country pays them and by living miserably they can save enough to get back and buy a few acres apiece they are rather sure to head for Italy again. It would be too much to say that they give their stabbing and throat cutting practices to America, because Americans do not copy those Italian methods, but their ready murderousness does add to the difficulty and expense of our police protection. Italian labor to some extent affects the wages of our own people. If there were more of it—and there soon will be very much more—the cheapening effect would be greater. In such work as they can do the native American, with his family, cannot compete against an Italian who can live on soup and who has no family. The Italian rush here is one of the most menacing events the settlement of this country has witnessed. We can stand a great deal, but in justice to the native population and to those foreigners who enter with an honest purpose to become useful citizens something ought to be done that the advent of demoralizing elements may be retarded.

The Omaha Bee.

The people of the South and West are not less desirous than those of the East that the objectionable classes defined in the law shall be rigidly excluded from the country, but we are not yet in a position to shut out industrious and thrifty Europeans whose labor would increase the productive resources and wealth of the nation. Let the law be enforced against criminals and paupers who may become a public charge, and the insane and persons under contract to labor, but the time has not come for closing our ports to aliens who have the capacity and willingness to work and desire to make

homes here and become good and useful citizens. On this question the South and West will cordially unite.

The Baltimore News.

The Italian immigrant would be no more objectionable than some others were it not for his singular bloodthirsty disposition, frightful temper and vindictiveness—a circumstance attracting attention in many places. The English papers are at present discussing a case in point which happened at Southport, the well-known watering place. Mr. Sawyer, a hotel-keeper, was suddenly attacked and cut by an Italian whom he had unintentionally provoked, and when his wife and daughter came to his rescue, the Italian fired upon all three, inflicting mortal wounds. We have seen a good deal of this same sort of thing in this country of late, and the fact has been vividly established that the lower class of Italians are a dangerous people—cruel, treacherous, vindictive and relentless. The disposition to assassinate in revenge for a fancied wrong is a marked trait in the character of this impulsive and inexorable race. Hence it is by no means a subject for congratulation that so many of them are pouring over here as the cable reports.

Harper's Weekly.

Public feeling in regard to stringent regulation of the immigration and naturalization of foreigners in this country is more seriously aroused than for many years. The "Native American" excitement of forty years ago was due to a perception of tendencies which are now confirmed. But in form it was a combination of secrecy, sectarianism and politics, which like a whirlwind blew violently, but soon spent its force. The results of illegitimate immigration and political enfranchisement were foreseen, but they were then theoretical. The time that has elapsed, however, has brought us face to face with actual perils. The volume of immigration has increased, while its quality rapidly decreases. The population of the country is largely heterogeneous, while homogeneity is the condition of great national power. The strength that lies in common traditions, a common history and language,

in general intelligence and local pride, is constantly diminished by the flood of the least intelligent and desirable population of other countries which pours constantly upon us. This country is the guardian and illustration, and, as we believe and intend, the conclusive demonstration of the stability and efficiency of popular government as the safeguard of liberty under law. Our first duty is to maintain the conditions under which that demonstration is practicable. To permit liberty to be lost in the wild license bred of heterogeneous ignorance, corruption and lawlessness, would be to betray our trust. The question is not of excluding foreigners, but of assimilation of the foreign element. A state or a country may be imperilled by over-immigration like the human body by over-feeding. Undoubtedly the population of the country is sprung from those who were originally strangers. But this is not a peculiar condition. In every great nationality there is a mingling of races. The result depends upon the quality of the stranger, the motive of his coming, and the rapidity of the increase. Because a continent may be subdued and civilized by the advent of a sturdy, intelligent, industrious, moral people sprung from English stock, and bringing the traditions and customs and training of constitutional liberty, so that their coming is a blessing to the world, it does not follow that a constant eruption of half civilized aliens from Europe or Asia or Africa is an advantage to the country, or ought not to be strictly regulated. The English race is the chief historic political race, because it comprehends the conditions of progressive liberty. Its politics are those of experience, not of theory. It deals with facts and the actual situation, and when the critic complains that a course is not logical, the reply is that human nature is not logical. English tenacity of ancient form while the spirit changes, its fondness for the crown when it has abolished the king, its preference for repairing the old building rather than tearing it wholly down to build anew, move the gibes of the political doctrinaire. But take England from history, and politically the United States disappear. Take away England, and constitutional liberty is not easily conceivable. So long as the true English impulse which settled the United States remains, so

long they will prosper and advance. In proposing more stringent legislation to protect the country from the disintegrating and degrading influence of alien ignorance and lawlessness, the Union League Club in New York will be sustained by the best opinion of the country.

The Chicago News.

Reports are crowding each other concerning the abuse of that hospitality which the United States has always offered to the oppressed of all nations, to men and women with strong bodies and clear minds, willing to aid in building up a new home for civilization and capable to become sovereign members of a self governing nation, because longing for that freedom which is humanity's birthright. According to these reports they are not the oppressed, not those capable of striving for liberty, not those willing to be their own masters, who are seeking our shores by tens of thousands, but quite the reverse. Jews expelled from Russia, whom no European country wants to receive, are assisted to immigrate to the United States in spite of the protests of members of their race residing here that they are not the kind of people to become Americanized because of their clannishness and bigotry. Italy is sending the paupers of both Sicilies by the shipload to the United States, the least valuable portion of a population whom centuries of misrule has honeycombed with crime and lawlessness, and removed as far from the possibility of being anything but the cowardly worshippers of power as are the Chinese or any barbarian tribes. Unscrupulous corporations and employers are scouring the least civilized portions of Europe for cheap human labor and import it into our country, where it is used to debase the standard of American labor and to lower the standard of American manhood. Our laws are said to be ineffectual to stop this outrage. The evil must be attacked at its source. The movement of peoples from nation to nation can no longer be regulated or controlled by legislation; it must be made subject to international law. We have treaties of naturalization for the protection of our immigrants, based upon the supposition that all who come to our shores came of their own free will and for the purpose of

becoming Americans in the word's highest meaning. We now need treaties for the protection of our country against unnatural, forced and dishonest immigration, against the scum and sewage of older nations. The nations of Europe can be held responsible for the escape from them of all peoples not fit for American citizenship. They can and must aid our government in stopping the practice of "assisted" and forced immigration. Only by treating it as an international question can the immigration problem ever be solved.

The Cleveland Leader.

The vast majority of the American people are painfully conscious of the need of stringent legislation to diminish and, above all, to thoroughly sift immigration. Workingmen's organizations such as the Knights of Labor are in harmony with the professional and leisure classes upon this question. In all grades of society and in all parts of the country the feeling is deep and strong that promiscuous immigration, in the present enormous volume, is a great evil which threatens the well-being of the nation. Congressmen know this. Nearly all of them believe that it would be a good thing to adopt measures which would weed out the least desirable immigrants and reduce the total number at least one-half. They know, too, that such legislation would be popular with voters of nearly every class and section. The trouble is that they dare not face the wrath of the comparatively small minority who are opposed to any restriction of immigration. They know the few would be active and vindictive while the many might prove careless and lukewarm in their support of the action which they desired. The only hope of relief lies in a public demand for the sort of legislation needed which shall be too loud and emphatic for any politician to disregard. When Congress shall come to realize that the majority are quite as much in earnest as the minority the flood of immigration will no longer pour unchecked into the great Republic upon which the Old World seems willing to unload every burden it can shake off.

“A Popular Geography.”

An absolutely new book just from the press, containing full and explicit definitions, etc., concisely and accurately compiled from all recent authentic sources. The matter is admirably adapted to all, for the diction is simple and pure, the style clear and direct, and the manner of presentation bright and attractive. Wonderfully compact, marvelously complete, beautifully printed, and excellent material. Hundreds of books have been consulted in its preparation. Mathematical and Physical Geography are stripped of all abstruse technicalities and plainly and forcibly presented in such an attractive manner as to instinctively engross the student's attention, thereby urging him to scientifically investigate and carefully dissect the infinitesimal beauties of nature. The various phenomena are graphically explained. Political Geography is discussed by the Socratic method. Every conceivable question of potent interest that would likely be asked in the most rigid examination is intelligently propounded and concisely and correctly answered just below it.

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PROF. W. J. McILWAIN, Principal Springfield (Ark.) Male and Female College.—"After a careful examination of 'A Popular Geography,' by Prof. G. D. Free, I unhesitatingly pronounce it a decided success. It is a work admirably adapted to teachers, and no live, progressive teacher can afford to be without it. It certainly fills a long felt want, and, properly studied, will greatly assist in assimilating the many facts of geography. Being personally acquainted with the author, I can truthfully say that the facts set forth are the results of diligent and faithful research. The statistics and data are the most authentic. I most heartily commend it to every teacher, and also to those who wish to get the fundamental principles of geography."

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"Marriage and Divorce."

There has been no sociological issue of recent years that has attracted so much attention as this theme has. Is marriage a failure? Woman's love and heart are more precious than are the gems of Golconda. I would rather possess the immaculate and impassioned devotion of one high-souled and enthusiastic female than receive the sycophantic fawning of millions. How sweet is the society of a dear wife. The bark of matrimony is launched on the uncertain ocean of experiment, amid kind wishes and rejoicings; but on that precarious sea are many storms, and even the calm has its perils; only when the bark has undergone these and landed in the haven of domestic peace can we pronounce the voyage prosperous, and congratulate the adventurer on his merited and enviable reward. What sublimity!

Many of the finest essays on this theme ever written appear in this book, the authors of which being the most fascinating writers that ever flourished the magical pen. Many of the perils and vicissitudes incident to a married life may be ameliorated or evaded by carefully studying these dissertations as presented by uxorious individuals. The perpetuity and stability of conjugal relations depend upon the constancy of never fluctuating love, and it is hoped that the youth approaching the hymenial altar will fully realize the magnitude and importance of this step.

"Two souls with but a single thought,
Two hearts that beat as one."

Send for it. Price 15 cents; two for 25 cents.